

R

pr.

# Tyranny & Popery

Lording it over the

CONSCIENCES,  
Lives, Liberties,

AND

ESTATES

BOTH OF

King and People.

---

*By a Person of Quality.*

---

L O N D O N,

Printed for B. C. and are to be sold by the  
Bookfellers of *London* and *Westminster*.

M DC LXXXVIII.

61-5566



---

---

# TYRANNY AND POPEERY

Lording it over the Consciences, Liberties, and Estates both of *King* and *People*.

---

To all those that Love either their *Religion*, their *Prince*, their *Country*, or Themselves.

---



*His, and no less than All This, is the Import of the Matter in Question. The Government is charg'd by a Faction to be Tyrannically, and Popishly Affected; and This Pamphlet is to Prove, that the very Faction which charges This upon the Government, is in all Matters Ecclesiastical and Civil, Publick and Particular, the great Imposer, and Usurper it self.*

*But before I enter upon the Subject, I do here previously Swear by the Hopes of a Christian, that I am not mov'd to this Discourse by any Byass, either of Partiality, or Faction; That I have no Aversion to the Party, any further than as I find them the Mortal Enemies of our Government, Laws and Freedoms; and that in the Prosecution of this Argument, I will not Press one Syllable, ( according to the best of my Skill, and Knowledge ) beyond the strict Limits of Truth, and Reason; My Purpose being only to Uncover the Pit, that the Unwary may not a second time run Headlong into the same*

## T T R A N N Y

*Precipice. I shall begin with the Platform of the Scottish Presbytery, and shew you the Sovereign, and Unaccomptable Power which that Judicatory claims to it self. My next work will be, to observe the Harmony betwixt Simeon and Levi; Their Consistorians, and Ours, in the Frame, and Scope of their Discipline. In the next place, we'll Compare their Positions, and then conclude, with a View of their Usurpations, Arbitrary Practices, and Proceedings: and all This, extracted from the Undeniable Memorials, and Records of the Times, and Actions, whereof we are about to Treat; and in a few words as may be, to speak Home to it, and Clear.*

---

### *The Platform of the Scottish Presbytery.*

**T**HE Presbyterial Government has Four Judicatories. A Parochial Session; A Presbyterial Consistory; A Provincial Synod; and A General Assembly.

The Parochial Session is constituted of One Minister, or more with a Competent number of Lay-Elders (their *Presbyteri non Doctes*) and Deacons. It meets once a Week, or oftner, if there be occasion, and takes Cognizance of all Parochial Cases concerning External Order, and Censure. If there be but One Minister in the Parish, he is Constant Moderatour: If More, they take their Turns as they can agree upon't; and they are all of them Equal in Honour, and Jurisdiction. There passeth no Act without the Joynt Consent of the Minister, Lay-Elders, and Deacons; or Plurality of Votes; and Note, that the Minister has no Casting Voice. The Power of Binding, or Loosing; of Censures Ecclesiastical; and of External Order, and Worship, is Radically, and Equally in all; So that the Lay-Elders, and Deacons have as much the Power of the Keys, as the Ministers.

To support this Jurisdiction, they have their Four Sacred Orders, which they challenge to be of Divine Right. First, Their Preaching Elders (whom they call Ministers.) Secondly, Doctors (or University Professors.) Thirdly, Lay, or Ruling Elders, who have as much Authority in the Debate, and Decision of Matters of Faith, Worship, Polity, Ecclesiastical Censures; as the Preaching-Elders. Fourthly, Deacons. Take notice that their Lay-Elders, and Deacons are Annual, and consequently one Year Sacred, and another Profane.

This

This *Session* meddles only with things *Parochial*, as the Ordering of the *Parish-Church*, and *Peculiar Service*; the *Censure* of *Lesser Scandals*; as Fornication, Drunkenness, Scolding, Sabbath-breaking, &c. And in difficult Cases, they apply themselves to the *Presbytery*.

In their *Censures*, they impose *Civil Punishments*, and *Fines*; they Imprison Offenders at pleasure; Cart them through the Town; set them in Pillories; Shave one half of their Heads; Cut off their Beards: Nay, they take upon them by their own Authority to *Banish* whom they *please* out of the Bounds of the Parish; which is a direct Usurpation of *Soueraign Power*: In Case of a Pecuniary Mulct inflicted, or of a Child born in Fornication, they will not allow the Infant to be Baptiz'd, if either of the Parents have not paid the Fine, or secur'd it, or satisfi'd the Church.

The *Presbytery* is next; and it is made up in some places, of *More*, in others, of *Fewer Parishes*, and the King himself is not Exempt from the Power, and Jurisdiction of this *Consistory*; nor in Effect from the Authority of the very *Parochial Session*, living within the Precinct, either of the One, or of the Other. This *Judicatory* is Compos'd of all the *Parochial Ministers* within its Compass, and a *Lay-Elder* for *Each Parish*: so that the *Lay-Elders* are Equal to the *Preaching-Elders* both in Number, and Power; and a Botchers Vote goes as far under that Capacity, in Divine Matters, as the Voice of the most Reverend, and Learned of the Clergy; only a *Lay-Elder* cannot properly be a *Moderatour*; tho' in several Cases they have dispens'd with that Scruple.

This Court takes Cognizance First, Of what is *Referr'd*, or *Presented* to them from every *Individual Parish*. 2. Of all *Capital Crimes*, and *Scandals* of the Highest Degree. 3. Of such Offences as fall under the Censure of *Excommunication*. 4. Of all *Appeals* from *Sessions*. 5. Of all Differences that cannot be Compos'd, or Determin'd in the *Parochial Conclave*. 6. Of the *Visitation*, and *Censure* of what's amiss in every *Parish*, either in *Preacher*, or *Other*. 7. Of the appointing of *Readers*, and *School-masters*.

They meet commonly once a Week, or a Fortnight; at which Meetings, all the Ministers, in their Turns, *Exercise* (as they call it) in the expounding, and applying of Texts of Scripture: In these *Exercises* they have a sort of People which they call *Expectants* of such or such a *Presbytery*, who are Licens'd to Preach



in any Parish-Church within its Bounds. These *Expectants* have usually some smattering in Divinity; as Country-School-Masters, or the like: and they are Authoriz'd to do all *Ministerial Acts*, except *Baptizing*, or Administring the *Lord's Supper*; without *Holy Orders*, *Imposition of Hands*, or any Qualification for the Sacred Function. There are more or fewer Presbyteries in a County, according to the Number of Parishes; but all of them Independent one from another: If the King himself be Cited, he must *Appear*, or be *Excommunicate* for *Contempt*; and submit his Earthly Scepter to their *Scepter of Christ*, as they term it, and from thence, receive *Christ's Laws* and *Ordinances*. As no *Person* is Exempt, so neither is any *Crime* whatsoever that is either Committed, or suspected to be Committed within the Limits of their Jurisdiction; but they hook it in, as *scandalous to a Christian Profession*.

A *Provincial Synod* is an *Associate Body* of the *Commissioners* chosen out of all the *Individual Presbyteries*, within the Precinct of the Province: they meet twice or thrice a year, and Exercise an Over-ruling power over all the *Presbyteries* within that Province, in such manner as the *Presbytery* superintends the *Parochial Session*. In this *Judicatory* the Leading men of the Faction lay their Heads together; form their Projects; and when the *Commissioners* return from hence to their several *Presbyteries*, they intimate to the particular Ministers what Points they are to Preach upon, for the Advancement of those Designs.

The *General Assembly* is *Sovereign*, and *Independent*: Hither lies the *Last Appeal*, and the Jurisdiction of it is Universal in what concerns *Ecclesiastical Matters*, and *Persons*, or *Temporals* in Order to *Spirituals*. They look upon themselves as immediately entrusted by *Christ*, and to Him only do they hold themselves Accountable. Whosoever does not obey this *Sovereignty*, (tho' the King himself) he is to be *Excommunicate*, and the Nobility, Gentry, Collective Body; nay, every Individual person is to assist to the Compelling, Censuring, and Punishing of him to the utmost of his power. So that the King himself is at their Command, and to order the Execution of their Censures, in Estate, Body, Life, and Death.

To this *Judicatory* Two *Preaching Elders*, and a *Lay-Elder* are sent as *Commissioners* from every *Presbytery* in the Kingdom; so that

that the Clergy have thus far two to one : but then reckoning that every *Borough*, and *Corporation* sends *One Commissioner*, and the *Universities*, and *Colledges* their *Commissioners* too, which are most of them *Lay-men*, this *Assembly of the Kirk* is turn'd into a *Council of State*.

The *King* himself is also a Member of this *Assembly*, either *Personally* by *Himself*, or *Virtually* by his *Commissioner* ; but without a Negative Voice, or any Power there, beyond that of a *Lay-Elder* : the Major part carries it, and whatsoever they Vote, ( tho' against the Kings Opinion, and Conscience ) he is bound to see it put in Execution, upon pain of being *Excommunicate*, and *Depos'd* from his *Government*. And if any thing be propos'd in this *Assembly*, as *Spiritual*, ( tho' never so hazardous to the Crown ) if they tell you that it is for *Christ's Glory*, there's no opposing of it in favour of the Publick Peace, or State. The proper *President* is a *Preaching Elder*, and this *Judicatory* they account as *Christ's highest Tribunal upon Earth*, from whence there lies no *Appeal*. They are oblig'd to meet once a year, and they *Indict*, and *Adjourn* themselves by their own power, without allowing the *King* to appoint either the Time, or the Place, only if there be any Occasion of meeting before the time set, their *Commissioners* give an account of it to the *King*.

The steps by which they mounted to this Arbitrary Jurisdiction were, A *Dislike*, First, Of the *Church-Government* ; Secondly, Of the *Church-Governours*. Thirdly, They propos'd a *Reformation* after the *Geneva-Copy* ; which not being admitted, Fourthly, They fram'd a Model of their Own. And lastly ; by Fraud, Violence, and Rebellion they Impos'd it upon the Nation.

### The English Presbytery.

THIS was the Method also, and the Design of the *English Disciplinaryans*, under Queen *Elizabeth*, as appears by the Records of those times, tho' many particulars of the Conspiracy were never brought to Light. The Examples of *Geneva* and *Scotland*, were at every turn press'd upon the *English* ; and a Confederacy was carry'd on in Both Nations, for the Erecting of the same Platform of *Presbyterial Discipline* ; which one *Davison*, a *Scotchman*, affirms to have no less Warrant to be continu'd perpetually within the

*the Church, under this Precept, Feed my Sheep, than hath the Preaching of the Word, or the Administration of the Sacraments. From 1560, to 1572, they vented their Spleen only in Libels, and Conventicles. In November 72. they Erected a Presbytery at Wandsworth in Surry; and from that time, to 1583, their Design was agitated in secret Meetings, which they call'd Conferences, wherein, (at a London-Meeting) they came to this Conclusion, That the Present Government of the Church by Arch-Bishops, and Bishops is Anti-Christian, and that the only Discipline, and Government of Christ, that is, by Pastors, Doctors, Elders, and Deacons, shall be Establish'd in place of the Other. In 1583, their Book of Discipline is Drawn up; (which they call'd the Synodical Discipline,) and an Assembly being held upon it, among other Decrees, it was order'd, That the Comitial Assemblies are to be monished, to make Collections for Relief of the poor, and of Scholars: but especially for Relief of such Ministers here, as are put out for not Subscribing to the Articles tender'd by the Bishops: also for Relief of Scottish Ministers, &c. These Scottish Ministers were they that Justify'd the Rebellious Act of making King James a Prisoner in 1583: and took Sanctuary in England, upon the Parliaments Declaring it Treason: And who so proper Instruments as they, for the promoting of another Rebellion in England? their Book of Discipline was review'd, and put in practice, in 1587. In 1589 it was perfected, and in the Year following, the Conspiracy was detected; when upon Examinations of Littleton, Edmunds, Johnson, Barbon, Holms, Brown, &c. it appear'd that the Discipline was Fram'd, Subscrib'd, and Carry'd on, in all respects after the Scottish Project, and Model.*

By publick Justice upon some of the principal Incendiaries, and King James his Vigilance, and Care afterwards, the Consistorians were for a long time kept within some tolerable compass. Their Mouths were stopt, upon the Conference at Hampton-Court, Anno 1603, with a strict Proclamation for the Observing of an Uniformity in the Church: Episcopacy was restor'd in Scotland in 1610, and an Act pass'd in a General Assembly at Aberdeen in 1616, Authorizing the Compiling, and Framing a Publick Form of Liturgy, or Book of Common Prayer to be first presented to the King, and after his Approbation, to be Universally receiv'd throughout the Kingdom: Which Book, pursuant to the Act, was by the Arch-Bishop of St. Andrews sent up to his Majesty, and by himself, and his Order, Examined, Corrected, and Return'd:

But



But his Majesty dy'd before it could be put in practice. And this was the Book, which with very little Alteration, and that too, in favour of their pretended Scruples, was by the late King's Proclamation in 1637, commanded to be publicly us'd in all Counties of that Kingdom. There were also diverse of the *English* Rites and Ceremonies settled in 1618, by five Articles that pass'd the Assembly at *Perth*; which Articles cost King *James* an Expensive Journey into *Scotland* the Year before; where he was forc'd to tell them plainly, in a Speech at *St. Andrews*, *That it was a Power belonging to all Christian Princes to order matters in the Church; and that he would never regard what they approv'd, or disapprov'd, except they brought him a Reason which he could not answer.* To which, upon Consideration they made his Majesty this Return, *That if he would grant them a Free Assembly, they would therein satisfy his Majesty in all the Points he had propounded.* The King depending upon it, return'd into *England*, and the day of the Assembly being come, and nothing done according to their promise; his Majesty went a short way to Work with them, and took away their *Augmentations*, that he had formerly allow'd them out of the Exchequer, which brought down their Stomachs, and made way for the passing of the aforesaid Articles.

It is not my Intent to write any thing more of the History of the Times, than what I find pertinent to my present purpose: so that passing over the Grumbings and Mutinous Dispositions that appear'd in the Remainder of King *James*; and the first Seven or Eight Years of King *Charles* his Reign; I shall only tell you, by way of Introduction to what follows, that the late King (having before-hand order'd a Convention of the Estates) upon the 13<sup>th</sup> of *May*, 1633. began his Journey towards *Scotland*, in order to his personal *Coronation*, where he was receiv'd with a pomp, and Acclamation, befitting the Dignity, and the Solemnity of the occasion. His first work was to ratifie the Laws, and Statutes of his Predecessor, in Relation to *Church-Government*; which pass'd not without some Opposition: but the *Commission of Surrenders* went yet nearer them, tho' both the Owners of *Lands*, and the *Ministers* were so abundantly satisfi'd, that the *Former* (as the King himself says in his large Declaration, pag. 9. ) *acknowledg'd it as a Deliverance from an Intolerable Bondage, under which They and their Ancestors, ever since the Reformation of Religion, had grievously Groan'd; and the Other, with Infinite Gratitude Celebrated his Majesty, as the Father, and Founder of their Churches.* The Case was  
B this,

this, (as *Heylin* renders it in his *Cyprianus Anglicus*, pag. 224.) In the minority of King James, the Lands of all Cathedral Churches, and Religious Houses, which had been settled on the Crown by Act of Parliament, were shar'd among the Lords, and Great men of that Kingdom, (by the Connivance of the Earl of Murray and some other of the Regents,) to make them sure unto that side: and They, being thus possess'd of the Lands, with the Regalities, and Tithes belonging to these Ecclesiastical Corporations, held the Clergy to small Stipends, and the peasantry in Vassalage. His Majesty was advis'd by Council, to take them into his own hand, the present Occupants having no other Title to them, than the unjust Usurpation of their Predecessors. And this was carry'd in such a manner too, that the very Nobility, and Lay-patrons could not open their Mouths against it; for they were satisfi'd for their Tithes, to the Uttermost Farthing, only they lost the Dependency of the Clergy and Laity upon them, by Virtue of these Tithes, and consequently the power of making a party to embroil the Government. They contented themselves within the Bounds of Libels, and Clamours, till that Rebellious outrage in the great Church of *Edenburgh*, on the 23 of July, 1637. Which was no more than the emprovement of an occasion to put the Principles of the Consistory in Execution. I'll make some amends for the length of this Digression, by contracting my self upon the Discipline which was afterward erected in *England*, after the *Scotch* pattern.

It will be a hard matter to pass from 1637, to 1648 without taking some notice of the Horrid Distempers in that Interval: I shall only tell you that after three or four Years spent in Dissolving the Legal Government, and Debating what we should have in the place of it; out comes the *Directory*, Jan. 3. 1644. with an Ordinance of the Lords and Commons, for the Authorizing of it. And afterward, Aug. 23. 1645. another Ordinance, for the more effectual execution of it; which was follow'd, Jun. 5. with an Ordinance for the present settling of it without further delay, and Aug. 19. 1646. with Directions for the Chusing of Ruling-Elders in all the Congregations, and in the Classcal Assemblies for the Cities of London, and Westminster, and the several Counties of that Kingdom, in order to the speedy settling of the Presbyterial Government. There pass'd also an Ordinance for the manner of Ordination of Ministers, with Rules for Examination, and Suspension from the Holy Supper, &c. And another of January 29. 1647. for the  
speedy

*speedy dividing, and settling the several Counties of this Kingdom into Distinct Clallical Presbyteries, and Congregational Elderships: and they came at last, Aug. 29. 1648. to The Form of Church Government, to be us'd in the Church of England, and Ireland, agreed upon by the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament, after Advice had with the Assembly of Divines. And all this, toward the promoting of an Union with the Kirk of Scotland. I should have told you of the Ordinance of Jun. 12. 1643. for the calling an Assembly of Learned, and Godly Divines, to be consulted with by the Parliament, for the settling of the Government of the Church: the Knights of every Shire to make choice of two, that should serve as Members for that County: and these, in Conjunction with so many of the Members of Both Houses, as might serve to inspect their Actions, took upon them the Powers, and Authority of a Convocation.*

The Form of their Government was the same with that of Scotland: they had their *Congregational, Classcal, Provincial, and National Assemblies*; with the same degrees of *Subordination*, and Vested, in proportion, with the same Powers. They had their *Expectants* too, and the Constitution of their several *Judicatories* was the very same; only the Lords, and Commons (under the Notion of a Committee for judging of Scandal) were so wise as to reserve the *Last Appeal* to *Themselves*, which was formerly lodg'd in the *General Assembly*; by which Device, the *Schism* was made subservient to the *Rebellion*; whereas in *Scotland* it was the clear contrary. And they had also another Hank upon them, in appointing that the *National Assembly* should meet upon a Summons by *Parliament*, and then sit, and continue, as the Parliament should order, and not otherwise: for they were not able to consent (they said) in a Declaration of the House of Commons, *Apr. 17. 1646.*) to their *Granting of an Arbitrary, and Unlimited Power, and Jurisdiction, to near ten thousand Judicatories, to be erected in the Kingdom, which could not be consistent with the Fundamental Laws, and Government of it; and which, by necessary Consequence, did exclude the Parliament from having any thing to do in that Jurisdiction.* But the Nation is never the better yet for this Caution, so long as the *Tyranny*, and the *Slavery* is still the same.

From this view of their *Brotherly Agreement* in Government we shall now proceed to their *Harmony in Positions*; and our Brethren of *Scotland* shall lead the way.



*The Positions of the Kirk, under the Queen Regent, and James VI.*

**T**He Punishment of such Crimes (says Knox) as touch the Majesty of God, doth not appertain to Kings, and Chief Rulers only, but to the whole Body of the People, and to every Member of it, as Occasion, Calling, and ability shall serve: Nay, they are bound by Oath to God, to Revenge the Injury done to his Majesty. If Princes be Tyrants against God, and his Truth, their Subjects are discharg'd from their Oaths of Obedience. The Nobility, and Commonalty ought indeed to Reform Religion; and in that Case, may remove from Honour, and Punish such as God has condemn'd; of what Estate, Condition, or Degree soever. It is not Birth-Right only, nor nearness of Bloud, that maketh a King Lawfully to Reign over a people professing Christ Jesus; but Princes, for Just Causes, may be Depos'd. Kings, Princes, and Governours, have their Authority of the People; and, upon occasion, the People may take it away again. Thus far Knox; Now for Buchanan.

The People (says he) have the same Power over the King, which He has over any one man; They are better than the King, and of Greater Authority, and may bestow the Crown at Pleasure. The making of Laws belongs to Them: They may Arraign their Prince; the Ministers may Excommunicate him; and He that by Excommunication is cast into Hell, is not worthy to Enjoy any Life upon Earth. It were Good (says he) that Rewards were appointed by the People, for such as should Kill Tyrants; as there are for those that Kill Wolves, or Bears, or take their Whelps.

The Seizing, and Imprisoning of King James, in Aug. 1582. being adjudg'd Treason by the Three Estates, in Decemb. 18. 1583. and some of the Criminals Executed; an Assembly of Ministers, and Elders at Edinburgh, in 1585. did not only Authorize, and Avow the Action, but also ordain'd all people to be Excommunicated, that would not Subscribe to their Judgment. And Andrew Melvil, being Cited to answer for Treason deliver'd in a Sermon, declin'd the King's Authority, affirming, that what was spoken in the Pulpit ought first to be try'd by the Presbytery; and that neither King, nor Council, might in the first instance meddle therewith, although the Speech were Treasonable.

Upon

Upon King *James* his coming to the Crown of *England*, he order'd the *Proroguing* of the *Assembly* at *Aberdeen*, which was to have met in 1604. to a longer day: But thirteen or fourteen of them, for all this, met formally at the day appointed: the Lords of Council discharg'd their Meeting; Whereupon they *Protested*, That in Conscience, and in Duty to Almighty God they were bound to preserve the Churches Right, and neither could, nor would give way to that Power the King had Sacrilegiously *Usurp'd* over it. Hereupon they were *Convented*, and Appeal'd from the King's Council, to the next *General Assembly*. I had almost forgotten the Determination of *Wilcock*, and *Knox*; who positively gave their Judgments, That it was Lawful to Depose the *Queen Regent*. Whereupon, she was solemnly *Proceß'd*, *Sentenc'd*, and *Depriv'd*.

*The Positions of the Presbyterians, under Queen Elizabeth.*

**T**He Church (says Cartwright) wherein any Magistrate, King, or Emperor is a Member, is divided into some that are to Govern, as Pastors, Doctors, and Elders, and into such as are to Obey, as Magistrates of all sorts, and the People. The Admonitour holds it fit, that he, and his Companions may be deliver'd by Act of Parliament, from the Authority of the Civil Magistrates; as Justices, and Others, from their Indictings, and Finings. Every fault (says Cartwright) that tendeth either to the hurt of a Man's Neighbour, or to the hindrance of the Glory of God, is to be Examined, and Dealt in by the Order of the Holy Church. Nay, the very Suspicion of Avarice, Pride, Superfluities in Meat, or Clothing, falls under their Lash.

All men (says Goodman) are bound to see the Laws of God kept, and to Suppress, and resist Idolatry by force. Nor is it sufficient for Subjects not to obey the Wicked Commands of Princes, but they must resist them; and Deliver the Children of God out of the hands of their Enemies, as we would deliver a Sheep that is in danger to be devour'd by a Wolf. If the Magistrate shall refuse to put Mass-Mongers, and false Preachers to Death, the People (in seeing it perform'd) shew that Zeal of God which was commended in Phineas. Subjects do promise Obedience, that the Magistrate might help them; which if he does not, they are discharg'd of their Obedience. If Ma-

## T Y R A N N Y

*Magistrates without Fear transgress God's Laws themselves, and Command others to do the like, they are no more to be taken for Magistrates, but to be Examin'd, Accus'd, Condemn'd, and Punish'd, as private Transgressors. Evil Princes ought by the Law of God to be Depos'd, and Inferiour Magistrates ought chiefly to do it. And now hear Gilby to the same Tune.*

*Kings, Princes, and Governours have their Authority of the People, and upon occasion, the People may take it away again, as men may revoke their Proxies, and Letters of Atturny. It is Lawful (says he) to kill wicked Kings, and Tyrants; the Subjects did kill the Queens Highness Athalia: Jehu kill'd the Queens Majesty Jezabel: Elias, being no Magistrate, kill'd the Queens Majesties Chaplains, Baal's Priests: These Examples are left for our Instruction, where Justice is not Executed, the State is most Corrupt. If neither the Inferiour Magistrates, (says he) nor the greatest part of the People will do their Offices; (in Punishing, Deposing, or Killing of Princes) then the Ministers must Excommunicate such a King. It would be endless to follow these Instances as far as they would carry me; so that I'll back now again into Scotland; and you will find them much of the same Opinion under Charles I. as they had been under his Royal Father.*

*The Positions of the Kirk under the Late King.*

**I**N their Protestation of September 22. 1638. against the King's Declaration, they say, First, *That what Subjects do of their own heads, is much better than what they do in Obedience to Authority, the One favouring of Constraint, but the Other being Voluntary, and Chearful Obedience.*

*Secondly, That the Parliaments Power does no more reach to the Placing of Officers Originally in the Church, than the Church has Power to make States-men in the Common-wealth.*

*Thirdly, The Parliament can make no Law at all concerning the Church, but only Ratifie what the Church Decrees: And after it has Ratify'd it, yet if the Assembly of the Church shall prohibit it, and Repeal that Decree of the Church, all the Subjects are discharg'd from yielding Obedience to the Act of Parliament.*

*Fourthly, The Assembly has power to discharge all Subscriptions to the Confession of Faith commanded to be Subscrib'd by his Majesty; and as it is Interpreted by Him, or his Commissioner.*

*Fifthly,*



Fifthly, *The Assembly, without the King, is the Church, and the only Judge Competent, fit to Interpret, and Explain all Doubts arising upon the Confession of Faith commanded by his Majesty.*

Sixthly, *Tho' the Law be Interpreted, yet if the Interpretation be disliked by most of the Kingdom; the Body of the Kingdom (for whose Good the Law was made) may crave the lawful Redress of Grievances sustained by that Law. Take Notice here, that they had already actually transgress'd the Law (without staying for Leave) and Justified the Doing of it.*

Seventhly, *The Assembly is Independent either from King, or Parliament, in matters Ecclesiastical.*

Eighthly, *That the King is to Receive all the Determinations of an Assembly, as a Son of the Church, tho' they be not matters of Faith, but only of Government; and concluded by Acts of Parliament.*

Ninthly, *It is Lawful for Subjects to make a Covenant, and Combination without the King; and to enter into a Bond of Mutual Defence against the King; and all Persons whatsoever (tho' against several Acts of Parliament.)*

Tenthly, *It is Lawful for themselves, (sitting in an Assembly) to Indict a New Assembly, without the Kings consent.*

Eleventhly, *If Subjects be convented before the King and Council for any misdemeanour; they may Appeal from the King and Council to the next General Assembly, and Parliament, if they think either the Glory of God, or the Good of the Church concern'd in the matter in Question.*

Twelfthly, *They do not desire the King to Indict a General Assembly, as needing his Authority, but rather for his Honour, and for the Countenance of their Proceedings: Alledging, that if the Prince shall omit to do his Duty, the People, from whom he had his Power Originally, may Resume it.*

Thirteenthly, *If the King's Voice shall be deny'd to any thing, tho' never so Unjust, and Illegal, that shall be carry'd by the major part of the Assembly, his Majesty is bound Jure Divino to enforce Obedience to those Acts, and the Counsellors, or Judges refusing to Execute, shall be Excommunicate, and depriv'd of their Places, and Estates.*

Fourteenthly, *An Assembly may Abrogate Acts of Parliament, and discharge the Subject from Obeying them, if they any way reflect upon the Business of the Church.*

Fifteenthly, *The Protestation of the Subjects against Laws Establish'd, either before the Judges of the people, or the people themselves*  
who

who are born to be Judg'd, doth void all Obedience to those Laws, without ever bringing of them to be discuss'd before a Competent Judge.

Sixteenthly, *The major part of the people may do any thing ( they say ) which they Themselves conceive conducing to the Glory of God, and the good of the Church, any Laws to the contrary notwithstanding.*

These Positions you will find in his Majesties *Large Declaration concerning the Tumults in Scotland* pag. 407. & deinceps. We shall now see how the Counterpart of this Confederacy behav'd it self in *England*: and shew you the *Doctrine*, and *Principles* of the *Faction*, in the very Infancy of the *Rebellion*: as appears out of their own *Acts*. See *Husband's Exact Collections*, Printed in *London*, 1643.

*The Positions of the English-Covenanters: and First,  
In Case of the King's Authority.*

**A**fter that the Faction had extorted from his Late Majesty such Concessions as never any Prince granted before Himself; and when they had Defam'd his Government, and his Person; and poyson'd his people, with Contemptuous, and Scandalous Libels; upon *March 2. 1641.* they began to *Unmask*, and to discover to the World, that their Design was not to *Reform*, but to *Govern*; and upon pretence of Fearing an Invasion from abroad, took the power of the *Militia* into their own hands at Home; *Resolving* upon the *Question*, p. 96. *That the Kingdom be forthwith put into a Posture of Defence, by the Authority of Both Houses.* This Vote was seconded by another, of *March 15. p. 112.* *That in Case of Extreme Danger, and of his Majesties Refusal ( to give them the Power of the Militia ) the Ordinance agreed on by Both Houses for the Militia, doth Oblige the People, and ought to be Obey'd by the Fundamental Laws of this Kingdom.* His Majesty insisting upon the Illegality of This Proceeding, *Both Houses* pass'd this following *Vote*, *March 16.* *That when the Lords, and Commons in Parliament, ( which is the Supreme Court of Judicature in the Kingdom ) shall Declare what the Law of the Land is; to have This, not only Question'd, and Controverted, but Contradicted, and a Command that it should not be Obeyed, is a High Breach of the*  
Pri-

*Privilege of Parliament*, pag. 114. Finding themselves pinch'd upon this Point, they fly to a *Distinction* betwixt the *Letter*, and the *Equity*, of all *Laws*, pag. 150. *There is* (say they) *in Laws*, an *Equitable*, and a *Literal Sense*: *His Majesty is Entrusted*, by *Law*, with the *Militia*, but 'tis for the *Good*, and *Preservation* of the *Republicque* against *Foreign Invasions*, or *Domestique Rebellions*; not that the *Parliament* would by *Law* *Entrust* the *King* with the *Militia*, against *Themselves*, or the *Common-wealth*; that *Entrusts* *Them* to provide for their *Weal*, not for their *Woe*. So that upon certain *Appearance*, or *Grounded Suspicion*, that the *Letter* of the *Law* shall be improv'd against the *Equity* of it, the *Commander* going against its *Equity*, discharges the *Commanded* from *Obedience* to the *Letter*.

The pretence of *Defending* the *Government* is now advanc'd to the *Reforming* of it. Apr. 9. 1642. The *Lords* and *Commons* do *Declare*, *That they intend a Due and Necessary Reformation* of the *Government*, and *Liturgy* of the *Church*, pag. 135.

Having already by *Violence* encroach'd upon the *Militia*, as against a *Foreign Power*, the first *Considerable* use that they make of it, is to employ it against his *Majesties Authority*, and *Person* before *Hull*; and pass'd *Two Votes*, Apr. 28. in *Justification* of the *Action*. *Resolved*, &c. *That His Majesties declaring of Sir John Hotham Traytor, being a Member of the House of Commons, is a High Breach of the Privilege of Parliament*. And *That*, without *Proceß* of *Law*, it is against the *Liberty* of the *Subject*, and against the *Law* of the *Land*. Nay they *Vote* it May 17. *To be against the Law of the Land, and the Liberty of the Subject, his Majesties Commanding of Skippon to attend him at York; and the very Removing of the Term to York from Westminster (sitting the Parliament)* they *Vote* to be *Illegal*; and *Order* the *Lord Keeper* (notwithstanding His *Majesties Command*) not to *Issue* out any *Writs*, or *Seal* any *Proclamation* for that *Adjournment*. May 20. They *Order* also the putting of all the *Magazines* in *England*, and *Wales*, into the hands of *Persons* well affected to the *Parliament*, pag. 194.

They find themselves now in *Condition* to *Threaten* the *King*, and the *Kingdom* with *Open War*: and pass upon the *Question*, these *Three* following *Votes*. First; *That it appears, that the King (Seduc'd by Wicked Counsel) intends to make War against the Parliament, who, (in all their Consultations, and Actions) have propos'd no other end unto themselves, but the Care of his Kingdoms, and the performance of all Duty, and Loyalty to his Person*. Secondly,

C

That



That whensoever the King maketh War upon the Parliament, it is a Breach of the Trust reposed in Him by his People, Contrary to his Oath, and tending to the Dissolution of his Government. Thirdly, That whosoever shall Serve, or assist him in such Wars, are Traytors, by the Fundamental Laws of this Kingdom, &c. And pursuant to these Votes, July 12. they Resolve, That an Army shall be forthwith Rais'd for the Safety of the King's person; Defence of Both Houses of Parliament, and of Those who have Obey'd their Orders, and Commands; and preserving of the True Religion, the Laws, Liberty, and Peace of the Kingdom, pag. 457. All these Votes, and Declarations, they cause, with all Solemnity to be Printed, and publish'd: but at the same time, His Majesties Proclamations, and Declarations are said to be contrary to Law, pag. 449. And all Officers are forbidden any way to Publish, or to Proclaim the same. The King's Commissions of Array are Declar'd, July 20. to be against Law, the Liberty, and Property of the Subject. And the Actors in it to be Esteem'd Disturbers of the Peace of the Kingdom, pag. 478. And again, pag. 576. All such persons as shall, upon any pretence whatsoever, assist His Majesty in this War, with Horse, Arms, Plate, or Monies, are declar'd Traytors to His Majesty, the Parliament, and the Kingdom; and to be brought to condign Punishment.

The Poyson of their Artificial Delusions you will find Maliciously enough Diffus'd in their Remonstrance of May the 26. 1642. pag. 263. And the Doctrine of That Declaration summ'd up with great exactness, in his Majesties Answer to it, contracting the Venom of it into these Six Positions.

First, That they have an Absolute Power of Declaring the Law; and that whatsoever they declare to be so, ought not to be question'd, either by King, or People: so that all the Right, and Safety of the Prince, and Subject, depends upon their Pleasure.

Secondly, That no Presidents can be Limits to Bound their Proceedings; which, if so, The Government of the Turk Himself is not so Arbitrary.

Thirdly, That a Parliament may dispose of any thing, wherein the King, or Subject hath a Right, for the Publique Good; (speaking all this While of the Remnant of the Two Houses) That they, without the King, are This Parliament, and Judge of This Publick Good; and that the King's Consent is not Necessary. So that the Life, and Liberty of the Subject, and all the Good Laws made for their Security, may be dispos'd of, and Repeal'd by the Major part of Both Houses, at any time present, and by any Wayes, and Means

pro-

*procured so to be, and his Majesty has no Power to Protect them.*

Fourthly, *That a Member of either House ought not to be troubled, or medled with, for Treason, Felony, or any Other Crime, without the Cause first brought before them, that they may judge of the Fact, and their Leave obtained to proceed.*

Fifthly, *That the Sovereign Power resides in Both Houses of Parliament. The King has no Negative Voice; and becomes Subject to their Commands.*

Lastly, *That the Levying of Forces against the Personal Commands of the King, ( tho' accompany'd with his Presence ) is not Levying War against the King: But to Levy War against his Laws, and Authority, ( which they have Power to Declare, and Signifie ) is Levying War against the King; and that Treason cannot be Committed against his Person, otherwise than as he is Entrusted with the Kingdom, and Discharging that Trust: and that they have a Power to judge, whether he discharges it or no. And to justify their Usurpations, they do maintain, pag. 270. That the Kings of this Realm are Oblig'd to pass all such Bills as are Offer'd unto them by Both Houses of Parliament.*

It would be superfluous to tell you of their *Proclaiming Fasts*, and assuming to themselves other *Rights of Sovereignty*, under the specious Pretence of a *Parliament*. But to shew you that it was all an Imposture: If the *King* will not agree, the *Two Houses* ( they say ) may Act without him: If the *Two Houses* differ, the *Sovereignty* rests in the *House of Commons*. As in the Case of a Bill they sent up to the Lords for Directing a *Protestation* which they had Fram'd to be generally taken throughout *England*. This Bill the Lords Rejected; Whereupon, the Commons pass'd this *Vote*, *That That House did conceive that the Protestation made by them is fit to be taken by every Person that is well Affected in Religion, and to the Good of the Common-Wealth; and therefore doth declare, that what person soever shall not take the Protestation, is Unfit to bear Office in the Church, or Common-Wealth.* And so they order'd the Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses to send down to the several Places for which they serv'd, Copies of that *Vote* of the House concerning the *Protestation*, and that the *Vote* should be Printed. They began with a *Contempt* of the Lords; they laid them quite aside at last; and in the Conclusion, they themselves were, upon their Own Arguments, Confounded by the *Rabble*. You see the Dominion these People Challenge over their *Master*; and it cannot be expected that they should give any better Quarter to their *Fellow*

*Subjects; But it is their Way of making Kings Glorious, and Patronizing the Liberty of the people.*

*The Positions of the English-Covenanters, as to the Liberty, and Propriety of the Subject.*

**I**N May, 1641. they enter'd upon their Design with the Protestation abovemention'd, in these Words: *I A. B. do in the Presence of Almighty God, Promise, Vow, and Protest to Maintain, and Defend, as far as Lawfully I may, with my Life, Power and Estate the true Reformed Protestant Religion, express'd in the Doctrine of the Church of England, against all Popery, and Popish Innovations within this Realm, contrary to the same Doctrine, and according to the Duty of my Allegiance to his Majesties Royal Person, Honour, and Estate; as also the Power and Privileges of Parliament, the Lawful Rights, and Liberties of the Subjects, &c.* Here was first, an Usurpation in the Imposing of it; and Secondly, an abominable Fraud in the Construction of it. The Matter of it was so plausible, that it went down without much Enquiring into the Authority of it; but upon the Commons declaring, that the Doctrine of the Church of England had no Regard to the Maintaining of the Discipline and Government of it: and afterward, that the Sovereignty was Virtually in the Two Houses, and that by this Protestation, they were oblig'd to serve that Interest, Mens Eyes came then to be Open'd, and they saw their Error: For they were call'd upon according to their Solemn Vow, and Protestation, to Subscribe for Money, and Plate, pag. 340. and to Maintain Horse, Horse-men, and Arms, for the Defence of the King, and Both Houses of Parliament. In York-shire there was a Neutrality propounded by some Persons of Eminent Condition in the County; but the Lords, and Commons Declar'd against it, pag. 629. as a Contradiction to the Tye of their General Protestation. And it went so high, that they pass'd a Vote, Oct. 15. 42. *That such Persons as shall not Contribute to the Charge of the Common-wealth in this time of Imminent Necessity, shall be held fit to be Disarm'd.* And the same day, they Voted the Sequestering of Church-Lands, Delinquents Estates, and Revenues of the Crown. They Order'd Victuals, and other Necessaries for the Army to be taken up upon Publick Faith, Nov. 29. 42. pag. 763. and where any thing was Refused,

to



to Force it: and likewise they appointed a Committee of *Six Citizens of London*, or any *Four* of them for the *Assessing* all such (to the *twenty'th* part of their *Estates*) as had not contributed upon the *Propositions* of raising *Money, Plate, Horse, &c.* in proportion to their *Abilities*. The said *Assessment* to be levy'd by *Distress*, and *Sale*; and in Case of *Refusal*, the Parties to be *Imprison'd*, pag. 767. With further authority, *Feb. 3. 42. p. 777. to Break open any Chests, Trunks, Boxes, Doors, with Power to Seize such Chests, with Money, or Goods, for the Satisfaction of the Sums Assess'd.* And the same Power, Amplifi'd, they granted to Commissioners for *Levy'ing of Money by a Weekly Assessment, upon London, and Westminster; and every County, and City in England and Wales; the City of London being Rated the Weekly Sum of 10000 l. and Others in Proportion.*

You have here from their own Publick Acts, (for I cite none of their Pamphlets) a Breviate of the Powers they assumed to themselves over King, and People: and this so early in the War too, that the Faction was not as yet sure in the Saddle. (For this was all before 1643.) You shall now see the *Execution* of these *Arbitrary Principles* by the *Covenanters* of Both Kingdoms in their Turns, and you shall Confess that tho' the Rigours of the *Kirk* may serve as a Foil to any *Other Tyranny*, the *English* have yet had the Honour to out-strip their Masters.

According to the Common Method of *Innovators*, their First Work was, by *Press* and *Pulpit*, to *Defame* the Government; their Next was, by Popular Artifice, to stir up the Multitude by *Tumults* to *Reform* it; and Lastly, (if they found their party strong enough to Depend upon) to Enter into a *Confederacy*, and Set up for themselves. This was the Course that *Knox, Willock*, and their Followers took in *Scotland* under the *Queen Regent* in 1555. and afterward, under King *James VI.* and *Cartwright* with his Complices went the same way to Work also under *Queen Elizabeth*; only the Conspiracy of *Arthington, Hacket, Coppinger, Wiggington, &c.* was Discover'd, and the Plot disappointed. But the Libels, and Tumults in *Scotland*, 1637. which led to that Impious *Bond*, and *Covenant* in 1638. had better success. (See his Late Majesties *Large Declaration* upon that Subject.) And after their Pattern, so had the practices in *England* in 1641. when the Parliament was so Over-aw'd by *Tumults* that the Vote of the *Two Houses* was no other in Effect than the Sense of the *Rabble* in the *Lobby*. It was but their Bawling for Justice upon the Noble Earl

Earl of *Strafford*; their Crying down of *Bishops*, and *Popish Lords*, and the thing is done. The Riots were so Great, that the Lords press'd the Commons at a Conference, to Joyn with them in a Declaration for the Suppressing of them. But it was answer'd, saying, *We must not discourage our Friends, this being a time we must make use of all our Friends.* God forbid (says Mr. Pim) that the *House of Commons* should proceed in any way to dishearten people to obtain their just Desires in such a way; Exact Collections, pag. 532. The *Kirk* would have said, that they did not know with what Spirit they were Over-Rul'd, as they told King *James* in the Case of *Gibson*, and *Black*, for delivering Treason in the Pulpit. The next thing that follow'd in Course, was a *Combination*; and that shall be the first Point we'll handle in the Common Practices of the Party; which in One Word amounts to no less than the Dissolution of a *Legal*, and the Setting up of a *Tyrannical Government*.

*The Practices, and Usurpations of the Presbyterians upon the Civil Government.*

TO be as Clear now in their Practices, as I have been in their Positions, you shall have as good Evidence for their Proceedings, as you have had already for their Principles. And Ple begin with the Foundation of their Empire; their audacious, and mysterious Covenant: Not with the Matter, or the Design of it, but only to shew you that *Covenanting* is the Method of the Party.

*Covenanting is the Method of the Party.* The First Covenant of Scotland bears date Decemb. 3. 1557. at Edinburgh: The Second at Perth, May 31. 1559. The Third at Sterling, Aug. 1. And a Fourth, at Leith, Apr. 27. 1560. They Enter'd also into another Covenant at Ayr, Sept. 4. 1562. which Knox calls a New Covenant.

In England 1583. they Subscrib'd their Discipline, and Enter'd into a League both by Promise, and Writing, to do their parts toward the Establishing of it.

In Scotland 1638. so soon as ever they had settled their Tables of Advice, the First Act of those Tables was their Solemn Covenant.

And so likewise in England, the Commons Impos'd a Protestation, and then went on to Covenants, and Oaths without End.

Here's

Here's an *Ufurpation* upon *Sovereignty*, the very first step they set; in the exacting of an *Oath* without due *Authority*; beside, that all *Leagues* of *Subjects* among themselves are (in the Eye of the Law) no better than *Seditious Conspiracies*. Wee'l come now to the *Pretence* of these *Covenants*, which is only an *Artifice* of *Inveigling* the Silly people into a *Confederacy* against the *Government*, under the *Notion* of promoting the *Common Good*.

*All Leagues without Authority are Seditious.*

The End of the First *Scottish Covenant* above-mentioned (at *Edinburgh*) is said to be the *Defence* of *Christs Gospel*, and his *Congregation*, and of every *Member* of it against all *Opposers*, to the *Death*. The *Second* at *Perth* goes further, and extends to all persons that shall trouble them upon what *pretence* soever. In the *Third* at *Sterling* they bind themselves from any *Correspondence* with the *Queen*, either by *Word*, or *Writing*. In the *Fourth* at *Leith* they *Covenant* a *Direct Revolt*, and the *reducing* of all men by *Force*, that are not of their *Opinion*. In their *Last Bond*, at *Ayr*, they declare against all men as *Enemies* that shall not submit to their *Government*. And upon the whole matter, they found all their subsequent *Proceedings* upon the *Obligation* of the *First Covenant* for the *Defence* of *Christs Gospel*.

*The Pretended Ends of the Covenant.*

The *Pretext* of the *Scottish Covenant* in 1638. was the *Defence* of the *King's Majesty*, his *Person*, and *Authority* in the *Defence*, and *Preservation* of the *True Religion*, *Liberties*, and *Laws* of the *Kingdom*: as also the *Mutual Defence*, one of another, against all sorts of persons whatsoever.

And the *English Protestation* of 1641. looks the very same way, viz. for the *Maintenance* of the *Doctrine* of the *Church* of *England*; the *Power* and *Privileges* of the *Parliament*, and *Liberty* of the *Subject*. And what's the very *Title* of their *Solemn League* and *Covenant*, in 1643. but *Reformation*, and *Defence* of *Religion*; the *Honour*, and *Happiness* of the *King*; the *Peace*, and *Safety* of the *three Kingdoms*?

So soon as ever they had by these specious appearances decoy'd an *Inconsiderate* part of the *Nation* into the *Net*, they improv'd the *Fraud* by expounding upon all their *Bonds* and *Covenants*, quite contrary to the *Common Intent*, and *acceptation* of the same. And made way thereby to the *Destruction* of all those *Interests* which the people thought they had *Sworn* to *preserve*. But the *Subject* was so hamper'd betwixt the *dread* of the *Oath*, among those that did



did not understand the *Nullity* of the *Obligation*; and the Forfeiture of *Life, Fortune, and Estate*, if they should not pursue it according to the Oraculous sense of them that Impos'd it, that betwixt their *Consciences*, their *Safeties*, and *Estates*, they were in a great straight. He that considers the Solemn, and the awful Circumstances that accompanied the taking of these Engagements; the *lifting up of the Eyes and Hands*; the attesting of *Almighty God*; the Invocations of the *Great Name of the Lord*, and their appeals to the *Searcher of all hearts*; and compares their *Actings* with their *Protestations*, will find them perhaps the most Impious, and extravagant Contradiction in Nature. And That's the thing next to be Observ'd in a View of the *Fabrick* they rais'd upon this goodly *Foundation*..

After this Hypocrisie in the very *Frame* of their Project, there was but little of Good Faith to be expected in the *Menage* of it: And all their *Covenants*, under Colour of *Reforming* the Government, were both in Construction, and in effect, but so many Oaths for the *Abjuring* of it; and the setting up of a more *Blasphemous Oracle* in the *Name of Christ Jesus*, than ever was silenc'd at his taking Flesh upon him by his *Holy Power*. I call their *Covenants, Oracles*; as well in respect of the *Inspiration*, as of the *Imposture*. But we shall better understand them, by Tracing their Motions from one Usurpation to another.

The steps  
by which  
the Holy  
Discipline  
Advanc'd  
into a Di-  
rect Rebel-  
lion.

By Letters from Sterling of March 10. 1556. Knox was invited from Geneva, with This Assurance, That the Faithful in Scotland were ready to jeopard their Lives, and Goods for the setting forward of the Glory of God, as he would permit. These Letters came to his Hand in May. And in September following (with the privacy, and encouragement of Calvin) he left Geneva, and Octob. 24. arriv'd at Diepe, (with intent to Imbark for Scotland) where he met with other Letters, dissuading his return. (See his *History of Scotland*, Fol. 107.) The Faction was now ready to give up the Cause; and had undoubtedly so done, but for Knox his Letter to some of the Nobility upon that Occasion; which re-confirm'd them in their Resolutions. Your Brethren (says he) are Oppress'd (Fol. 109.) and you ought to Hazard your own Lives, (be it against Kings, or Emperours) for their Deliverance. (So that here was Violence intended, you see, in the very first Proposition.) By the Instigation of this Letter, they enter'd into their first Covenant at Edin-

Edinburgh in Decemb. 1557. (Fol. 110.) and immediately after the Subscribing of it, they Order'd the Common Prayer (of England) to be read weekly on Sunday, and other Festival days, in all the Parish-Churches of that Kingdom, with the Lessons of the Old and New Testament, Conformed to the Book of Common Prayers. (Fol. 111.) Soon after This, they Petition'd the Queen and Council for the Use of the Common Prayer in the Vulgar tongue, which was granted them, with an exception only to *Edinburgh*, and *Leith*, for fear of Tumults: And upon the Neck of this Petition, follows a Protestation, deliver'd in Parliament, 1558. against all Acts of Parliament for the punishing of Hereticks; the Removal of all Prelates, and their Officers from any place of Judgment: (Fol. 133.) Foretelling, by way of Menace, that if Abuses should chance to be Violently Reform'd, the Government may thank it self. From Protesting they Gather'd themselves together, at *St. Johnston*, the Town Declaring for them. Hereupon, the Preachers were Summon'd to appear at *Sterling*, May 10. 1559. And on the other side, The Brethren Concluded that the Gentlemen of every Country should accompany their Preachers, to the Day, and Place appointed: that is, to *St. Johnston*, where they had their first Assembly. Upon this Contempt, the Ministers were Proclaim'd Traytors, and the Multitude fell to the Demolishing, and Rifling of Religious Houses; where they found great Booty; and so they Proceeded to the fortifying of themselves, and calling in of their Friends to their Assistance, maintaining their ground by Force, notwithstanding A Proclamation for all of them to avoid the Town, under the pain of Treason: (Which place soon after was deliver'd up upon Composition) From the pretence of Defending themselves in *St. Johnston*, they advanc'd, shortly after, to the Assaulting of it; and so the Burning of *Scone*; the Seizing of the Minting-Irons for the Coyning of their Plate. And then from Monasteries, and Abbies, they went forward to the Defacing, and Pillaging of Cathedrals; Parochial Churches; and there were few Chancels that escap'd them. In their Answer to the Queens Proclamation of Aug. 28. 1559. they rise from matter of Religion, to matter of State. (Knox Hist. of Scotland, Fol. 174.) And in direct Terms, Fol. 179. They affirm, that it appertaineth to the Nobility, and also to the Barons, and People, to bridle the Rage, and Fury of misfed Princes; which was only a Prologue to the Formal, and Solemn Deposal of the Queen Regent at *Edinburgh*, Octob. 24. 1559. that ensu'd. After This; they emplor'd aid from *England*, under Colour of main-  
D taining

taining their ancient *Liberties*. And the Treaty was sign'd at *Berwick* by the Commissioners of both Nations, *Feb. 27. 1559.*

*They persecuted the Queen Regent into her Grave.*

By these Persecutions they brought the *Queen Regent* to her Grave; and upon her Death, a Peace was concluded; the Armies to Disband, and the *French*, and *English* Succours to return Home. In *Decemb. 1560.* *Francis the Second of France* departed this Life; leaving the *Queen of Scots* an Unfortunate Widow; Poor, and Helpless. They were now out of fear of *France*, and there was no danger from *England*, in regard of the *Queen of Scots* pretensions to that Crown; so that they resolv'd now to play their own Game; and their first Act was the Abolishing of the *Common-Prayer* ( in a Convention at *Edinburgh* ) which they had formerly embrac'd, and Confirm'd by a Solenm Decree, and Subscription: and the Presenting of a *Church-Government* of *Knox's* own Contrivance, and not much differing from the *Geneva-Model*, to a Convention of the Estates; under the Title of *The Confession of the Faith, and Doctrine, believed, and Professed by the Protestants of Scotland.* The States took time to consider of the Form of *Polity*; but pass'd an Act however for the Demolishing of *Cloysters*, and *Abby-Churches*. Whereupon ( says *Spotswood* in his *Church-History*, Fol. 175. ) *there ensu'd a Pitiful Vastation of Churches, and Church-Buildings. No difference was made, but all the Churches either Defaced, or Pull'd to the Ground. The Holy Vessels, and whatsoever else men could make gain of, ( as Timber, Lead, and Bells ) were put to Sale. The very Sepulchres of the Dead were not spar'd. The Registers of the Church, and Libraries cast into the Fire: and all this, colour'd with the Warrant of Publick Authority.* Take notice here, that after the Convention was Dissolv'd, their Book of *Polity* was Subscrib'd, notwithstanding the Post-poning of the Question. And we shall see now, that they treated the *Queen her self* no better than they had done the *Queen Regent*.

*The daughter had no better Quarter than the Mother.*

Upon this Nice Juncture of Affairs, the *Queen* was Invited home. And *Aug. 20. 1561.* She arrived at *Leith*, declaring upon her Entrance, That *there should no Alteration be made in the present State of Religion, only for her Self, and Family she would have a Mass in private.* But the Preachers decrying that Toleration in their Pulpits, produced a Dangerous Tumult against the Freedom of her own Chappel.

After several Riots, and open Rebellions, which were still promoted,



moted, and seconded by the *Presbytery*; In *July 1564.* the Queen was Marry'd to the Lord *Darnly*; and *June 19. 1566.* brought to bed of a Son ( afterwards *James VI.* ) in the Castle of *Edinburgh.* In *1567.* they sent the Queen Prisoner to *Lochleven,* and pass'd an Act of Assembly for the Securing, and Disposing of the person of the Infant-Prince; with Direction to move the Queen to a *Resignation* of her *Government,* and the appointing of a *Regent,* during his *Minority*; which by Force, and Menaces, her Majesty was compell'd to do; and her *Renunciation,* and *Commission* Publish'd at the *Market-Cross* at *Edinburgh,* the Prince being Crown'd, and Anointed King, in the Church of *Striveling* the Third day after the Publication, being *July 29.* On the 20th of *August,* the Earl of *Murray* was Elected *Regent*: King *James* being as yet but Thirteen months old. At the beginning of the Spring, in *1568.* the Queen made her escape, and was convey'd to *Hamilton,* where several Lords meeting in Council, her *Resignation* was declar'd *Void,* ( as extorted by fear ) and *Proclamation* issu'd against the Rebels that had Usurped her Authority. The dispute, in short, was brought to a Battle, *May 13.* the Queens Army Defeated, and she her self fled into *England* for Protection; where the Faction never left the persute of her, till they brought her to the Scaffold. But here you'l say there was a *Foreign Interest,* and *Popery* in the Case. If that were all, how came it that they handled the Young King at as course a rate every jot as they had treated his Mother? tho' their *Natural Prince,* and afterward, the Celebrated *Champion* of the *Protestant Cause.*

The Government of *Scotland* had been Administred by Four Regents, when, upon the Earl of *Morton's* desire to be Discharg'd of his *Regency,* the King ( not twelve years old as yet ) accepted of it; and his acceptation thereof was Proclaim'd at *Edinburgh,* *March 12. 1577.* where the Regent himself was assisting. As an earnest of the respect they bare to his Majesties Authority, *Andrew Melvil* presented a Form of *Church Government* to the Parliament at *Striveling,* in *1578.* which they referr'd to certain Commissioners, who agreed to such General Heads as did not touch the Authority of the King, nor prejudg the Liberty of the State. But this did not content them; so that they resolv'd to put their Conclusions in Practice the next Assembly, without staying for a Ratification ( *Spotswood's Hist. Fol. 302.* ) In *Glasgow,* the next Spring, the Ministers put the Magistrates of the City upon Demolishing

They treat-  
ed King  
James as  
ill as they  
had done  
his Mother.

the Cathedral, but the Tradesmen Interpos'd, and Defended it. In 1582. *Montgomery* was Process'd for Preaching at *Glasgow*: The King by his Warrant commanded the Assembly to desist, which the Moderatour peremptorily refus'd, and thereupon, the Officer pull'd him from his Seat, and Clap'd him up in the *Tol-buyl*; for which they Decreed him to be *Excommunicate*, tho' the King himself earnestly perswaded them to the contrary.

After this Contempt of the Kings *Authority*, they made a Violent Seizure of his *Person*, and carry'd him Prisoner to the Castle of *Ruthen*, where they kept him close *Nine Months*; forcing him by a Writing under his hand, to command the Duke of *Lenox* to Depart the Kingdom, and Imposing upon him what Servants they pleas'd, under pretence of *Zeal to Religion, and Care of his Person*. They did also Petition the next General Assembly at *Edinburgh*, to give their sense of the Action: Who made themselves Judges; and did so highly approve of it, that they appointed all Ministers to recommend the Actors of it, as good Christians, and Patriots, pretending, that there was no other way to preserve their Religion and Freedoms. And yet this Duke dy'd soon after in *France*, of the Reformed Communion. For the Countenance of this Proceeding, they force the King (being but Seventeen years of age) to emit a Proclamation, commanding all those that had Levy'd any Forces upon pretence of his Restraint, to Disband within Six hours, upon pain of Death; and Declaring that he was at Liberty, and had only his Friends about him. In the Summer following, under Colour of Viewing the Castle of *St. Andrews*, It was contriv'd that the Gates should be shut upon his Followers, and so he deliver'd himself from his Guard. It would be but the same thing over again, to Enumerate the Repeated Usurpations of their Government, and the Contumacy of their Ministers: their Rebellious practices at *Striveling, Glasgow, &c.* and that Horrid Outrage against the *Octavians* in *Edinburgh, Decemb. 17. 1596.* When the King appoints a *Feast*, they Indict a *Fast*: The Council Orders the Ministers of *Edinburgh* to give Thanks for his Majesties Deliverance from *Gowry's Conspiracy*: Their Answer was, That they were not acquainted with the Business. And when it was urg'd, that they were only to affect the People with the Sense of his Majesties having scap'd a great Danger, they Reply'd, That nothing should be utter'd in the Pulpit, but that whereof the Truth was known. Nay, they would not so much as pray for the Kings Mother, when her Death was Resolv'd upon, tho' the  
very

very Form was prescrib'd in the most Innocent Terms imaginable, viz. *That it might please God to Illuminate her with the Light of his Truth, and save her from the apparent Danger wherein she was cast.*

And This would have been the Issue too of the *English Project* under Queen *Elizabeth*; as appears by the Insolence of their Demands, and the Virulence of their Writings, if the Conspiracy had not been nipp'd in the Bud.

*The Con-  
spiracy un-  
der Queen  
Elizabeth  
was nipp'd  
in the Bud.*

The *Scottish Insurrection* in 1637. was only their Old Method Reviv'd. Of which in a few words, out of the *Kings Declaration* upon That Subject.

*The Scotch  
Rebellion  
of 1637.*

Upon occasion of a Seditious Uproar at *Edinburgh*, Octob. 18. 1637. his Late Majesty order'd the discharge of all such Meetings, upon pain of Death. And his *Proclamation*, being publish'd at *Sterling*, *Lithgow*, and *Edinburgh*, was encounter'd with a *Protestation* against it, at the same Times, and Places; and with the same Solemnity, as if they had been both by the same Authority. Immediately upon this Affront, the *Protestors* erect *Publick Tables of Council* for ordering the Affairs of the Kingdom without the consent of the King, and in contempt of his Majesty and Council. At these *Tables*, having first agreed upon their *Covenant*, they conclude upon certain Propositions of *Instruction* to the party. *No Answer must be made to State-Questions without Advice.* All *Proclamations to be Protested against*; and to take nothing for Satisfaction, less than their whole Demand. This way of *Anti-Protesting* they made use of from first to last. Upon his Majesties *Proclamation* for Dissolving the Assembly at *Glasgow* 1638. they did not only *Protest*, and *Refuse to Depart*, but *Cited the Kings Council that Sign'd the Proclamation, to appear before the King, and Parliament.* In This their *Protestation*, his Majesty observes *Eleven Nullities*; and that *In one Hour they made void Six General Assemblies*; tho' Two of them wholly, and the Other Four, in part, were Ratifi'd by Acts of Parliament. *In another Hour, they damn'd all the Arminian Tenets, without defining what they were.* *In another Hour, they depriv'd one Arch-Bishop, and Two Bishops.* And in one hour more, they *Abolish'd Episcopacy*; *Deposing Four Bishops, barely upon a Libel read in the Pulpit, without Examining any One Witness against them*; and only for the Crime of Obeying *Parliaments, and General Assemblies.*

*The Rise,  
Method,  
and Pro-  
gress of it.*

*They Levy  
Arms a-  
gainst the  
King for  
the Glory  
of God.*

All this they do, as having the Cognition of *Ecclesiastical Matters.* They *Arm the Subject*; *Block up*, and *Force the Kings Forts,*



*Forts, and Castles; Intercept Victuals, and Ammunition for their Relief; Tax the People; Levy Soldiers against the King; Issue out Warrants to Sheriffs for Commissioners of Parliament; and when they are ask'd why they do these things; 'Tis for the good of the Church, (say they) the Glory of God; and the Preservation of Religion.* (Kings Declaration, pag. 415.) These are the men that bind their Kings in Chains, and their Nobles in Links of Iron, according to the very Letter. And you shall now see that the *English-Covenanters* are as good *Text-Proof* as their *Brethren*. Take Notice here, that my Observations are restrain'd simply to the actings of the *Presbyterians*, without Imputing any thing to Them that was done by the Influence of the *Independents*.

The Practices of the Scotch, and English compar'd.

It appears from what is already said, that *the Name of God* was the Prologue to *Both Rebellions*: The *Form, and Doctrine* of the *English League*, the very *Translation* of the *Scottish*: It rests now to shew, that the *English Practices* are so likewise; and how far they have put their *Seditious Positions* in *Execution*. What was the *English* way of *Remonstrating*, and *Declaring*, but the *Scottish Mode of Protesting*? The *General Assembly* declines the Kings Authority in the Case of *Treason*; and so did the *House of Commons*, in the Case of their Members. The *Kirk* refus'd to pray for the *Queen*; and our *Mock-Parliament* made it Penal to pray for the *King*; and they both of them took upon themselves to *Convene Assemblies*; *Impose Oaths*, and *Subscriptions* by their own power: To *Banish the Kings Servants*, and *Scandalize his Ministers*: and with a *Scottish Grace* the *English Faction* tells the King, in answer to one of his Declarations, that *his Suggestion is as false as the Father of Lies can Invent*. As they agreed in the *Intent* of the Reformation, So did they also in the *Manner* of it. They alarm'd the City of *London* at Midnight, that *the King was coming with his Papists to fire the Town, and burn the Citizens in their Beds*; (the Common pretences of *Scotland*) And after the *Scottish Method* too, they *Rifled Winchester-Church* in 1642. *Burnt the Communion-Table in an Ale-House*; brake open several *Leaden Chests*, wherein the *Bodies* of some of the *Saxon Kings* were *Deposited*; *Casting the Dust into the Air*; and throwing the *Bones* of them at the *Windows*: *Hacking with their Swords the Crown that was there upon the very Statue of the King*. With the same *Barbarity* they proceeded at *Chichester*, where they pickt out the *Eyes* of *Edw. VI.* his *Picture*; saying, that *all this was long of his Book of Common Prayer*.

*Prayer.* At *Canterbury*, and *Rocheſter* they did the like, and turn'd the Church of *St. Paul*, both into a *Stable*, and an *Ale-Houſe*. It might ſerve, in one word for all, to ſay, that they have put all their *Positions* before ſpoken of in Practice.

The *Two Houſes*, by their own Authority, ſet up *Ordinances* for *Laws*; ſettled the *Militia*; ſtil'd themſelves the *Supreme Jurisdiction* of the Kingdom; chang'd the Whole Frame of the Government; puniſh'd thoſe as *Traitors* that ſerv'd the King; Seiz'd the Kings *Forts*, *Towns*, *Magazines*, and *Revenues*; Rais'd an *Army* againſt him; Impos'd *Taxes*, *Excife*, *Customs*; took away *Episcopacy*, and the *Common-Prayer*, and ſettled the *Directory*; Proclaim'd *Faſts*; ſpoil'd the King of his *Authority*; made him a *Prisoner*, under Colour of taking him into *Protection*; and then for a Sum of Money, with *Judas*, betray'd their *Maſter* to be *Cru-ci-fi'd*.

The Uſur-pations of the Two Houſes.

All this and more was not only the *Effect* of the *Covenant*, but the very *Drift*, and *Meaning* of it; as appears by the Artificial Improvement of it to all their purpoſes: (being the very *Teſt* of the *Faction*.) No man was allowed to practice the *Law*, no man admitted into the *Ministry*, that had not taken it; and it was Impos'd, under a *Penalty* upon the whole Nation. And then after the Taking of it, it was made *Death* for any man to return to his *Allegiance*; and all the *Deſerters* of the *Conſpiracy*, that were murder'd under a Form of *Justice*, were put to *Death* for *Breach* of *Covenant*.

The Ri-gours of the Cove-nant.

When the late King, *May* 1646. in his *Diſtreſs*, apply'd himſelf to the *Scotch*, and they receiv'd him, as into *Protection*; his *Friends* were kept from him at *Newcaſtle*, by as ſtrict an *Order*, as afterwards at *Holdenby*. But they Formaliz'd the matter however, \* how *Base* a thing it would be for *Scotland* to *Deliver up* their King; and how *Inconſiſtent* with the *Duty* of their *Covenant*, and how *Diſhonourable* to the *Army*; to whom in his *Extreme Danger* he had *Recourſe* for *Safety*. The *Scotch Commiſſioners* alſo aggravating the Matter. || If it be contrary (ſay they) to the *Law*, and *Common Practice* of *Nations*, to deliver up the meanest Subject, ſied to them, tho' it be for the greatest Crimes; How much more would the *World* abroad condemn our *Army* for a *Base*, *Diſhonourable Act*, if they ſhould deliver up their *Head*, and *Sovereign* (having caſt himſelf into their *Hands*) to be diſpos'd of at the *Arbitrament* of another Nation? Nay, (ſays the *Chancellour*) I ſhall deſire that the *Word* of *Diſpoſing* of the Kings *Perſon*, may be rightly underſtood; for to *Diſpoſe* of the Kings *Perſon*, as *Both Houſes*, or both *Kingdoms*.

The Kirk betray'd, and Sold the King in his Diſtreſs.

\*Low'on's Second Speech at a Conference, Oct. 6. 1646.

|| Answer to the Vote of Sept. 24. 1646.



Lowdon's  
Speech to  
his Majesty,  
1646.

doms shall think fit, may in some sence, be to Depose, or worse. But alas! these difficulties only stuck till the price was agreed upon. How stiff they were, till the Bargain was struck, and after that, how Flat, and Supple! For then he tells his Majesty plainly, If he refuses the Propositions, both Kingdoms will be constrain'd (for their mutual Safety) to agree, and settle Religion, and Peace without him. And he is told afterward by the pretended Declaration of the Kingdom of Scotland, of Jan. 16. 1646. that by reason of his Refusal, there would be a Joynt Course taken by both Kingdoms concerning the Disposal of his Person. And then a little after, [with respect had to the Safety, and Preservation of his Royal Person. \* In the preservation, and Defence of the True Religion, and Liberties of the Kingdoms. According to the COVENANT, &c.] On Feb. 12. They Exhort their Covenanted Brethren (the Assembly at Westminster) to hold fast their Solemn League, and Covenant; to Entertain a Brotherhood, and Unity between the Nations; but not a Syllable of the King. And again Jan. 18. the General Assembly of the Kirk presses the Two Houses to a speedy Establishment of the Presbytery. (And here again no mention of his Majesty.)

The Cove-  
nants  
Barbarous  
Propositi-  
ons to his  
Late Ma-  
jesty.

But what's the Sum now of these Propositions that stand in Competition with the Kings Freedom, Life, and Dignity? First, Only the Justifying, and Confirming of all they had done. Secondly, The giving away of the Militia of England, and Ireland, for Twenty Years, with Power to Raise Men and Money. Thirdly, His Majesty must Swear, and Sign the Covenant; Impose it upon the Three Kingdoms; Abolish Episcopacy, and settle Religion, as Both Houses shall agree. Fourthly, All Honours (since 1642.) must be made Null and Void; No Peers admitted in Parliament, for the Future, but by Consent of the Two Houses. Fifthly, All Great Places, and Offices of Honour in England, and Ireland, to be dispos'd of by Consent of Parliament; and in Fine; his Majesty must deliver to death, Beggery, and Scorn all that ever Serv'd him.

Thus was this Glorious Prince Betray'd, and Sold, according to the COVENANT. Here's the true English of it, and the Divinity of that Moloch, to which this Nation has offer'd up so many Noble Sacrifices. Are not our Fundamental Laws, Persons, Consciences, and Estates, Secure, and Happy, under the Care and Wing of such Blessed Guardians? How meanly have we Prostituted the Reverence of the Land, and of the Government, to the Lusts of these Imperious shameless Ravishers! Take notice here of some of the Kirks following Resolves upon the main point in question.



question. First, *That the Kings taking of the Scotch Covenant, and passing Some of the Propositions, does not Warrant Scotland to Assist him against England.* Secondly, *That upon bare taking the National Covenant, they may not Receive him.* Thirdly, *that the Clause in the Covenant for Defence of the Kings Person, is to be understood In Defence, and Safety of the Kingdom.* Fourthly, *That his Majesty shall Execute no Power in Scotland, without satisfying every Point.* Fifthly, *That refusing the Propositions, he shall be dispos'd of according to the Covenant, and the Treaties.*

Nor would the *Two Houses* probably have us'd him any better if he had gone to them. For, upon his first withdrawing himself, they Voted it *Treason, and Death without Mercy, for any Man to Harbour, and Conceal the Kings Person,* (upon a Supposition that his Majesty was then in *London*.) This was the 4th of May; and on the 6th, the *Commons* Voted him to *Warwick Castle*, which was Unvoted again, upon the 9th; and in June, they Voted the *Kings going to the Scots, a design to prolong the War.*

Let me not appear to Confound the *Faction of Scotland* with the *Nation*; for no Country affords greater Instances of Integrity, and Honour. Nay, I have heard it from good Authority, that the *Kings going into Scotland, (which he most earnestly desir'd) was carry'd in the Negative, only by Two Voices.*

His Majesty is now under the Care of his New Governours, and a Prisoner to the *Covenanters* at *Holdenby*; where he desir'd only two of his *Chaplains* that had not taken the *Covenant*; and then a *Common-Prayer Book* for his own private Use, but Neither could be Granted him.

At the *Isle of Wight*, the same faction had the handling of him again; where they still Treated his Majesty much at the same rate. And they us'd his *Royal Successor* not much better in 1650. When, to auspicate the Project for the Recovery of his Crown, in the very Dependence of a Treaty at *Breda* with him; upon the Instigation of the *Kirk*; they murder'd the Brave, and Generous *Montross*, with the most horrid Circumstances of malice Imaginable: and how they us'd the King himself afterward at his coming among them, I am not willing to mention.

Nay, when the Time appointed by Gods Providence was come for the Restoring of the King, the *Presbyterian Ministers* in *London* publish'd a kind of Squinting Gratulation upon that Occasion; as if Popery were coming in with his Majesty for Company. And the same Party, upon the Re-Admission of the *Secluded Members*,

The Two Houses as bad as the Scotch.

It was the Faction of Scotland, not the Nation, that ruin'd the King.

Their dealing with the King at Holdenby.

Their Rigour at the Isle of Wight; and the Horrid Murder of Montross.

The Covenanters Justifie the Murder of the Late King, upon the Restoration of

pres'd upon the House of Commons these Two following Votes, for the Justification of the Rebellion in 1641. and in order to the Exclusion of the Royal Party from the next Choice.

1. *I do Acknowledge, and Declare, that the War undertaken by Both Houses of Parliament in their Defence against the Forces rais'd in the Name of the Late King, was Just, and Lawful; and that Magistracy, and Ministry are the Ordinances of God.*

2. *Resolv'd that All, and Every Person, who have advised, or Voluntarily aided, Abetted, Assisted, in any War against the Parliament, (since the first day of Jan. 1641.) His, or Their Sons, (unless He, or They, have since manifested their Good Affections to This Parliament) shall be Uncapable to be Elected, to serve as Members of the next Parliament. So that as their Fend against Kings, is Implacable, their Aversion likewise to all those that Love their Prince, descends from Generation to Generation.*

*Presbytery is Inconsistent with any other Government.*

How Inconsistent *Presbytery* is with *Monarchy*, is sufficiently manifest. But they'l say for themselves, that *Kings may be misled*; and that it is not the *Form of Government* that is Grievous to Them, but the *Male-Administration* of it. To which, it may be Reply'd, that *All Governours*, under what Form soever, are to *Them, Alike*, where they *themselves* are not *Uppermost*: and that the Reformation of Personal Failings will not do their Business without the Total Subversion of all those wholsom, and profitable Laws that stand in the way of their Discipline: It being their Custom to Reproach *Princes*, and their *Ministers*, for straining the *Prerogative*, while they *Themselves* at the same time, Usurp over *Kings, Parliaments, and People*: and Trample under their Feet, all that is *Sacred in Society, and Government*.

*The Presbyterians Will is their Law.*

*Princes*, 'tis true, may have their *Errours*, and their *Passions*; but what have the Innocent *Laws* done? Are they *Popishly Affected* too? But where ever *Presbytery* reigns, there can be no *Law*, but their own *Will*. Did they not (in *Scotland*) Damn *Bishops*, as *Anti-Christian*, and deprive *Ecclesiastiques* of their Voices in *Parliament, Convention, and Council*? notwithstanding Three Acts of *Parliament*; that is to say, of 1584. 1597. and 1606. expressly to the Contrary. And did they not pronounce the Acts of the Assemblies of *Glasgow, and Perth* to be *Void, and Illegal*, tho' Enacted as *Municipal Laws*? Ask them now (says his Late Majesty; Large Declaration, pag. 416.) *by what Authority they do these things, expressly against Acts of Parliament, Acts of Council,*  
and

and *Acts of General Assemblies*. They Answer, that *those Acts of Assembly were unduly Obtained; and that now they have Rescinded them*. For *Acts of Parliament, and Acts of Council, they Express great Wonder that any man should Question their Authority over them: For if Christ be above the King, Christs Council must likewise be Supreme; Parliaments being only the Council of the Kingdom. And for the Kings Privy Council, and Judges, they must submit to the Counsellors, and Judges under Christ, who is the King of Kings.*

Nor is it all, that they assume to themselves an *Arbitrary Rule*; but whoever refuses *Subscription, and Obedience to their Acts, and Decrees, stands Excommunicate without Mercy*. And then (if he persist) follows *Out-Lawry; Forfeiture of his Goods; his Revenue for Life; Letters of Caption for the Seizing of his Person; and Close Commitment as a Traytor*. If he does not yet appear, they take out *Letters of Intercommuning*; making it *Treason to Receive, or hold any Correspondence with him*. This is Executed by a *Warrant to the Civil Judge from a Commissioner of the Presbytery*; and upon his Refusal, to see the Sentence put in Execution, he himself incurs the same Danger.

And the same *Tyranny* was Exercis'd by the *Two Houses* upon the *English Government*; Whose *Orders* were Impos'd upon the Nation, for *Laws, and Obedience* requir'd to them, under pain of *Life, Liberty, or Estate, at Pleasure*.

*The Tyranny of the Pretended Parliament in 1641.*

What a Mockery is it now to talk of *Religion, Kings, Parliaments, or Laws*, where the *Dictates of Mechanicks* shall Overrule the *Articles of the Apostolick Faith*; and the Vote of a *Seditious Conventicle*, Dissolve the *Order, and Authority of a Legal, and Establish'd Government*?

*The Tyranny of the Presbytery over the Consciences, Lives, Liberties and Estates of the People.*

**A**ltho' these *Usurpations* upon the *King, and the Government* it self; do Naturally presuppose, and Imply an *Oppression* upon the *Subject*; It will not be amiss yet, more particularly to Expose the *Inevitable, and the Scandalous Slavery* of living under *That Dominion*; as well in regard of their *Unlimited Power*, as of their *Inherent Cruelty, and Rigour*.



In the matter of *Conscience, Life, Liberty, and Estate*, enough is said already in the very Case of their *Covenants*; wherein without any respect to the *Lawfulness* of the *Thing*, or the *Conscience* of the *Person*, it was *Sequestration*, and *Imprisonment*, to *Refuse* them, even where it was the Hazard of *Damnation* to *Take* them: and being once *Engag'd*, 'twas *Death* to *Repent*. The History of *Scotland* abounds with Instances upon This Subject; but I shall rather bring my Observations Home, to the *Covenanters* of *our Own Age*, and *Nation*.

The Tyranny, Cruelty, and Profaneness of the English Covenanters.

The Early Plunders of Sir *John Lucas*, Sir *William Boteler*, the *Lady Rivers*; with other Persons of Eminent Condition, both *Lay-men*, and *Divines*, are to be read at large, with the Inhumane Insolences that were Acted upon their Persons, and Relations, in *Mercurius Rusticus*: but the Out-rages that follow'd, were so Great, and so Many, that these are hardly worth the Mentioning, and the Other would be too Tedious to Recite; for the Whole Story of the Rebellion was carry'd on with Rapine, and Bloud. How many Noble-mens Houses were turn'd to Prisons, without the Masters knowing either his Accuser, or his Offence? Several Gentlemen of Quality put on *Ship-board*, and half smother'd in the Heat of the Year; where they contracted Diseases, and by an Arbitrary power were to have been *Transported* no body knew whither. Others were Sold for *Slaves* into Plantations: near 100 *Ministers* were brought out of the *West*, and Clapp'd up in *Lambeth-House*, where almost all of them were destroy'd by a Pestilential Feaver. Nay; so Profane was their Barbarity, that upon *Sunday* the 5th of *March* 1642. Dr. *Featly* Preaching that day, at *Lambeth-House*, order was given to dissolve the Congregation, and the Reformers took with them some great Guns to do the Work: At which time some mischief was done, and there had been more, but for a Gentleman, who is at present an Eminent Person in the City, who snatched away the *Linstock* just as they were going to give fire upon the Congregation, into the Quire of the Chappel. This I have upon the Credit of a man of Worth, and Value. I could tell you of a Minister in *Covent-Garden* that refus'd Christian Burial to the Body of a Gentleman that was Quarter'd for his Loyalty; One that made it a *Moot-Point*, upon an *Anniversary Fast*, whether or no the *Kings Death* were a *Murder*.

And

And these People were as well the Masters of our Estates; as of *They Dis-*  
 our Persons : ( See *Scobell's Collection of Acts, and Ordinances* ) by *posed of*  
 their own power, taking upon them to *Sequester Delinquents*; bor- *our Estates,*  
 row Money upon the *Publick Faith*; gathering of other peoples *and Per-*  
*Rents, and Debts*; *Levyng of Money*; *Raising of Horse*; *Asses-* *sions, at*  
*sing at Pleasure*; *Sequestering Church and Crown-Lands*; Gulling *Pleasure,*  
 the people with *Irish Adventures*; Laying new *Imposts*; Autho-  
 rizing the breaking open of Locks; and Examining upon Oath,  
 for Discovery of Delinquents *Money, and Goods*; *Raising, Con-*  
*tinuing, and Enlarging several Excises*; Borrowing *Money* for  
 the *Scots*; *Taxing the Whole Nation*; Appropriating the Profits of  
*Tonnage, and Poundage* to themselves; compounding for *Ward-*  
*ships*: Beside their Impositions of a *Weekly Meal*; their *Monthly*  
*Assessments*; and other Impositions upon the people to Incredible  
 Value, and without any Colour of Law.

As there is *no Freedom* either of *Conscience, Person, or Estate*, *Their Scan-*  
 under their Boundless Dominion; so there's no living under them, *dalous and*  
 with either *Peace, or Reputation*: If a Man and a Woman live in *Unchari-*  
 such a manner of Conversation, that it is possible for them to be *table Cen-*  
 Lewd together in private, the *Presbytery* shall take it for granted *sures.*  
 that they are so; and without any Evidence, require them *pub-*  
*lickly* the next Lords day, perhaps, before the *Congregation* to  
 discharge themselves upon *Oath* that they are *Innocent*: Which if  
 they do, and that they purge themselves of the suspected Crime,  
 they shall yet be forc'd to do *open Penance* for their *Misbehaviour*.  
 But if two persons shall be Presented, under a Suspicion of *Incon-*  
*tinence*, and that being Conven'd, and Examined, there shall ap-  
 pear any strong Presumptions that they are so; tho' there be no  
 Proof in the Case, they shall yet be made *Close Prisoners*, to feed  
 on *Bread and Water*, and no body to come at them; to try, if ei-  
 ther by *Proof, or Confession*, any thing can be made out against  
 them by the *next Court-day*: If not, they are dismiss'd, but upon  
 Condition, that if ever they be seen together again, unless in the  
*Church, or in the Market*, it shall be taken *pro Confesso* that they  
 are *Guilty*. There was a *Husband* that confessed to his *Wife* some  
 Faults that he had committed, and She out of Zeal told a *Presby-*  
*terian Minister* the Story; for which the *Minister* very fairly *Con-*  
*vented* him, and made him do *Publick Penance*. This Practice has  
 parted many men and their wives; and stirr'd up Feuds never to  
 be.

be Reconcil'd. Nay a man shall not Sue for a Debt upon a Bond, or a Landlord, for his Rent, but the *Presbytery* shall take the Judgment of it to themselves, as a Course Scandalous to the Profession, where any of their own Gang is concern'd. They must have an Oar in every Boat. In *Scotland* they interpos'd in the Business of *Salt-Pans*, *Salmon-Fishing*, *Fairs*, and *Markets*; and fell heavily upon some *Scottish Merchants* in *Edinburgh*, for carrying Wheat to *Spain* in a time of Dearth. But the Trade of *Wax* thither, was Unpardonable, as not only feeding *Gods Enemies*, but maintaining their *Idolatry*. To say nothing of the absurdity, in their Constitution, of making *Tradesmen Judges* in Matters of *Faith*; and the Unmannerly temper of it, where a *Taylor*, or a *Shoee-maker* shall Sit, and Vote Cheek by Jowl with his *Sovereign*.

Having made a Faithful Report of the *Pretended Powers*, the *Avow'd Principles*, and the *Open Practices* of these Troublers of our *Israel*, so far as the Discovery may honestly conduce to our present purpose; we shall now lay open the *Mystery of Iniquity*, in the *Secret Contrivances* of their *Cabal*; and upon no less Authority, than the Faith, and Honour of *King Charles the Martyr*, in his *Remarques* upon the Proceedings of the *Scottish Covenanters*.

The Scot-  
tish Gene-  
ral Table  
was the  
Pattern of  
the English  
Close  
Commit-  
tee.

The device of our *standing Committees* in 1641. with *Subordination* to the *Close Committee*, was only an Imitation of the *Preparatory Tables of Advice* in *Scotland*, with *Subordination* to their *General Table*. And there, Effectually, was lodged the last Result of Counsel. It was compos'd of men of *Brains*, *Popularity*, *Boldness*, and such as were most *Obstinately* engag'd to the *Faction*; whether *Preaching*, or *Ruling-Elders*. The Acts of *Assembly* were but the Dictates of the *General Table*; as in *England* the *Two Houses* still agreed to the sense of the *Close Committee*. There it was, that the abuses of Government were Inspected; Reformation Modell'd; Court-offices dispos'd of; all *Conspiracies* Form'd, and Digested; and the Preachers expressly directed what Points to Press, and which Nail to drive. There can be no better account given of their *under-hand dealing*, than they give of themselves, in their *two Private Papers of Instructions* (Printed in the Late Kings *Large Declaration*, Fol. 282. &c. with his Majesties Notes upon them) toward the Securing of a *General Assembly* (which was to meet at *Glasgow*, Nov. 21. 1638.) The one of them



them being directed to one *Lay-Elder*; and the other, to *some one Minister* in every *Presbytery*, for the Packing of their Party. In the former of them you have in terms these following particulars in Charge.

*That some one Minister, and Gentleman in every Presbytery meet Their Private Instructions: and use all diligence with the rest of the Ministers and Gentlemen, that such may be Chosen.*

And Because nothing will avail so much for our purpose, where the most part of the Ministers are disaffected, as that the Gentlemen be present to Vote in Presbyteries, it would be presently tri'd whether this be put in Execution; and if the Minister be slow in urging it, the Gentlemen themselves to urge it, and put themselves in Possession.

That they linger not, they would be urged again to send their Commissioners to Edinburgh before the first of October: by this we shall know our own strength the better at our Meeting.

And the Gentlemen (at least the greatest part of them) would be warned to be at Edinburgh, Septemb. 20. And that only the Gentlemen who are nam'd Commissioners to the Presbytery for chusing their Commissioners for the Assembly, with some to assist them, that day stay at home, and those to come away immediately after the Election.

That in every Presbytery there be a particular Care taken of the Informations against the Prelates, for Instructing our Complaints.

*The Other Paper of Private Instructions of Aug. 27. 1638. runs as follows.*

**T**Hese Private Instructions shall be discovered to none but to Brethren well affected to the Cause.

Order must be taken that none be Chosen Ruling-Elders, but Covenanters, and Those well affected to the Business.

That where the Minister is not well Affected, the Ruling-Elders be Chosen by the Commissioners of the Shire, and spoken to particularly for that Effect.

That they be careful no Chapter-men, Chappel-men, or a Minister, Justice of the Peace, be chosen, although Covenanters, except they have publickly renounc'd, or declar'd the Unlawfulness of their Places.

That

*That the Ruling-Elders come from every Church in equal Number with the Ministers, and if the Minister oppose, to put themselves in Possession, notwithstanding any Opposition.*

*That the Commissioner of the Shire cause Convene before him the Ruling-Elder of every Church, Chosen before the day of the Election, and enjoyn them upon their Oath, that they give Vote to none, but to those who are Nam'd already at the Meeting at Edinburgh.*

*That where there is a Nobleman within the Bounds of the Presbytery, He be chosen : And where there is none, there be Chosen a Baron, or one of the Best Quality, and he only a Covenanter.*

*The Medly  
of their  
Assembly.*

The King observes ( Fol. 315. ) that *This Assembly of Glasgow had not so much as the Face of an Ecclesiastical meeting ; not a Gown worn by any Member of it, unless it was by one or two Ministers that liv'd in the Town : The Appearance of it was in a manner, wholly Laical. Among the Members of it, were Seven Earls, Ten Lords, Forty Gentlemen, One and Fifty Burgesses, many of them in Colour'd Clothes, and Swords by their Sides ; all which did give Voices, not only in very high Points of Controversie, but also in the Sentences of Excommunication pronounc'd against the Bishops, and Others. Nay, and all things in the Assembly carry'd by the Sway of these Lay-Elders ; Insomuch that it was a very rare thing to hear a Minister speak there.*

*The General Assm-  
bly is but  
the Embryo  
of a Common-  
wealth.*

Now let any man judge whether this be a *Church-Assembly*, or the *Embryo of a Common-Wealth* : A *Conscientious Consultation* for the *Reforming of Religion*, or a *Seditious Practice* for the *Embroiding of the State*. How applicable is that *Invective against Popery* ( in the Libel concerning the Growth of it ) to the *Case of Presbytery* ? The *Power of it is Absolute* ( says the Author of it ) and the *Decree is Infallible*. It can change the very *Nature of things* ; making what is *Just*, to be *Unjust*, and what is *Vice*, to be *Virtue*. All *Laws* are in the *Cabinet of its Breast*, and it can dispose of *Kingdoms*, and *Empires* as it pleases. It makes it a *Mortal Sin* even to doubt of any part of its *Religion* ; and demands, under pain of *Damnation*, the *Subjection of all Christians* to its *Authority*. That *Word of Reformation* misapply'd, has serv'd it to justify all the *Executions*, *Assassinations*, *Wars*, *Massacres*, and *Devastations*, whereby the *Discipline* hath been *Propagated*. It is almost *Unconceivable* how *Princes* can yet suffer a *Power so Pernicious*, and *Doctrine so Destructive* to all *Government*. Their *strict Oaths*, and *Vows of Obedience* to the *Presbytery* *Evacuate the Fealty due to the Sovereign*.

What

What difference now ( more than in the *Name* ) betwixt the *Papal Tyranny*, as he has set it forth, and the *Presbyterial*, as it appears from their own *Words*, and *Deeds*? What *Power* can be more *Absolute*, or what *Decrees* more *Infallible*, than That of the *Presbytery*; Which challenges *Obedience* to all its Dictates, both from *Prince*, and *People*, under pain of *Life*, *Liberty*, *Dominion*, and *Estate*? It Over-rules *Laws*; sets up *Oaths* of *Treason* against *Oaths* of *Allegiance*; and covers the Crime of *Rebellion* with the Title of *Virtue*. It takes upon it self the Office of *Christs Vicar*; *Deposes Kings*; and under the masque of *Religion*, dissolves the *Order*, and *Authority* of all Governments. The *King* in his Declaration before-mentioned, ( Fol. 404. ) among other of their *Unchristian Extravagancies*, takes Notice of their Refusal to Pray for *Sir William Nesbitt* upon his *Death-bed*, because he had not *Subscrib'd* the *Covenant*; and that they did *Formally* bar non-Covenanters from the *Communion*, in *Express* terms with *Blasphemers*, and *Adulterers*; refusing *Baptism* in the Churches of *Ministers* that had not taken the *Covenant*, even to *Children* that were born in the same *Parish*.

The *Unchristian Rigour* of this *Discipline* is such ( says the *Author* of *Toleration* discuss'd, pag. 334. ) that It Crucifies weak *Consciences* with *Needles*, *Infinite*, and *Incurable Scruples*, that *Haunt*, *Dog*, and *Torment* us in the most *Necessary*, and *Ordinary* *Actions* of *Humane Life*: At the *Church*, at the *Table*, at the *Market*, at *Home*, and *Abroad*: At all *Times*, in all *Places*, and upon all *Occasions*; in our *Thoughts*, *Words*, and *Deeds*.

As to *Excess* in *Eating*; It is *Censurable* either in the *Quantity*, or in the *Quality*. So that in the first place the *Eldership* is to provide one *Common Gage* for the *Stomachs* of the *Whole Parish*, for fear of a *Mouthful* too much. And in the second place, It is made a matter of *Salvation*, or *Damnation* whether a man *Eats Beef*, or *Venison*.

And so for *Excess* in *APPAREL*, one *Inch* more than to cover your *Shame* is a *Superfluity*; and One *Peny* more in the *Pound* than the *Allowance* of the *Presbytery*, is made as much as a mans *Soul* is *Worth*.

It is the same thing for *VAIN WORDS*. A *Nurse* shall not dare to still her *Child* but with a *Psalm*; and you must not presume so much as to ask What a *Clock* it is, without a *Text* to prove that the *Question* tends to *Edification*.



Chiding.

Nay they have drawn CHIDING within the Compass of Ecclesiastical Censure. So that Masters shall not reprove their Servants, nor Parents their Children, without Leave of the Eldership. And they have taken in BRAWLING too; and made every Billingsgate Quarrel a Subject of Consistorial Cognizance.

Lewd Customs.

Under LEWD CUSTOMS are Censur'd all sorts of Publick Sports, Exercises, and Recreations that have been long in use, as having their Original from the Times of Paganism, or Popery; As Comedies, Interludes, Wrastring, Foot-Ball-Play, May-Games, Whitsun-Ales, Morrice-Dances, Bear-Batings, &c. All GAMES that bring Loss, are also Prohibited; as Tennis, Bowls, Billyards, &c. And so are UNCOMELY GESTURES; So that a man may be given to the Devil for Lolling upon his Elbow, or Sitting upon his Back-side before the Deacon of the Parish. Nay, our very THOUGHTS are Censurable, and 'tis enough to be suspected. He that sues to recover a Debt shall be suspected of Avarice; and he that refuses to Crouch like the Ass under the Burthen, shall be suspected of Pride.

Ridiculous Scruples.

To pass now from their Rigours, to their Scruples; There goes a Story of some of them that made it a Matter of Religion, to Piss a Bed, and Ride Hobby-Horses, because it is said, Except you become as little Children, you shall not enter into the Kingdom of Heaven. But Bancroft (in his Holy Discipline, pag. 368.) tells you of those that made Hawking, and Hunting, and Womens laying out of Hair, to be Cases of Conscience; and Walker consults Field particularly, whether it be in any respect Tolerable for Women that profess Religion, and the Reformation, to wear Doublets, Little Hats with Feathers; Great Gowns after the French, and Outlandish Fashion; Great Ruffs, and Hair, either Curl'd or Frizl'd, or set out upon Wyres, &c. And Cholmlye desires to be resolv'd whether the strict Prohibition of not Kindling of fire on the Sabbath be of the substance of the Moral Precept.

Among all these Scruples I find no difficulty made in the Cases of Dethroning Kings; Demolishing Churches; Killing, and taking Possession, &c. But to conclude, with the Treatise aforesaid;

From

From the *Triple-Crown'd Consistory* ; that Lords it over *Souls, Bodies, and Estates* ; over *Kings, Nobles, and Commons* ; over *Laws, Magistrates, and all Sorts, and Ranks of Men, and Interests* ; That Turns *Gospel* into *Law* ; *Communities* into *Deserts* ; *Men* into *Beasts* ;

*Good Lord Deliver us,*

---

*THE END.*

---